Timothy Leary

The Cyber-punk: The Individual as Reality Pilot

"Your true pilot cares nothing about anything on earth but the river, and his pride in his occupation surpasses the pride of kings."
—*Mark Twain, Life on the Mississippi*

WHO IS THE CYBER-PUNK?

Cyber-punks use all available data-input to think for themselves.

You know who they are.

Every stage of history has produced a name and a heroic legend for the strong, stubborn, creative individual who explores some future-frontier, collects and brings back new information, and offers to guide the gene-pool to the next stage. Typically, the time-maverick combines bravery with high curiosity, with super-self-esteem. These three talents are considered necessary for those engaged in the profession of genetic-guide, a.k.a., philosopher.

The classical Old West-World model for the Cyber-punk is Prometheus, a technological genius who "stole" fire from the Gods and gave it to humanity (1). Prometheus also taught his gene-pool many useful arts and sciences. According to the official version of the legend, he/she was sentenced to the ultimate torture for these unauthorized transmissions of Classified Information. Prometheus was exiled. In his/her own version of the myth (unauthorized) Prometheus (a.k.a., the Pied Piper) uses his/her skills to escape the sinking kinship, taking with him the cream of the gene-pool.

The New World version of this ancient myth is Quetzalcoatl, god of civilization, high-tech wizard who introduced maize, the calendar, erotic sculpture, flute-playing, the arts. And the sciences. He was driven into exile by the G-man in power, who was called Tezcatolipoca.

Self-assured singularities of the Cyber Breed have been called mavericks, ronin, free-lancers, independents, self-starters, non-conformists, odd-balls, trouble-makers, kooks, visionaries, iconoclasts, insurgents, blue-sky thinkers, loners, smart alecks. Before Gorbachev, the Soviets scornfully called them hooligans. Religious organizations have always called them heretics. Bureaucrats called them disloyal dissidents, traitors or worse. In the old days, even sensible normal people used to call them mad.

They have been variously labelled clever, creative, entrepreneurial, imaginative, enterprising, fertile, ingenious, inventive, resourceful, talented, eccentric.

During the tribal, feudal, and industrial-literate phases of human evolution, the logical survival traits were conformity and dependability. The "good-serf" or "vassal" was obedient. The "good-worker" or "manager" was reliable. Maverick-thinkers were tolerated only at moments when innovation and change were necessary. Usually to deal with the local competition.

In the Information-communication civilization of the 21st century, creativity and mental excellence become the ethical norm. The world has become too dynamic, complex and diversified, too cross-linked by the global immediacies of modern (quantum) communication, for stability of thought or dependability of behavior to be successful. The "good-person" today is the intelligent one who can think for him/herself. The "problem-person" in the Cybernetic Society of the 21st century is the one who automatically obeys, who never questions authority, who acts to protect his/her official status, who placates and politics rather than thinks independently.

Thoughtful Japanese are worried about the need for ronin-thinking in their obedient culture. The post-war generation now taking over.

CYBER-PUNK YUPPIES IN THE SOVIET UNION

The new post-war generation of Soviets have apparently caught on that a new role model is necessary to compete in

the information age. Under Gorbachev bureaucratic control is being softened, made elastic to encourage some modicum of innovative, dissident thought!

Aleksandr N. Yakovlev, Politburo Member and key strategist of the "glasnost" policy, describes that reform: "Fundamentally, we are talking about self-government. We are moving towards a time when people will be able to govern themselves and control the activities of people that have been placed in the position of learning and governing them.

"It is not accidental that we are talking about SELF-government, or SELF-sufficiency and SELF-profitably of an enterprise, SELF-this and SELF-that. It all concerns the decentralization of power."

The Cyberpunk Person, the pilot who thinks clearly and creatively, using quantum-electronic appliances and brain know-how, is the newest, updated, top-of-the-line model of our species, HOMO SAPIENS SAPIENS, CYBERNETICUS.

Let us meet some of these Pilot People. Their example may encourage and empower you to start taking over the wheel. Of your own life.

CYBER IS THE GREEK WORD FOR PILOT

"A great pilot can sail even when his canvas is rent."
—*Lucius Annaeus Seneca*

The term CYBERNETICS comes from the Greek word *kubernetes*—pilot.

The Hellenic origin of this word is important in that it reflects Greek traditions of independence and individual self-reliance which, we are told, derived from geography. The proud little Greek city-states were perched on peninsular fingers wiggling down into the fertile Mediterranean Sea, protected by mountains from the land-mass armies of Asia.

Mariners of those ancient days had to be bold and resourceful. Sailing the seven seas without maps or navigational equipment, they were forced to develop independence of thought. The self-reliance that these Hellenic Pilots developed in their voyages probably carried over to the democratic, inquiring, questioning nature of their land-life.

The Athenian cyber-punk, the pilot, made his/her own navigational decisions.

These psycho-geographical factors may have contributed to the humanism of the Hellenic religions which emphasized

freedom, pagan joy, celebration of life, and speculative thought. The personal and polytheistic nature of the religions of ancient Greece is often compared with the austere morality of monotheistic Hebraism, the fierce, dogmatic polarities of Persian-Arab dogma, and the imperial authority of Roman (Christian) culture.

A RECENT EXAMPLE OF UNAUTHORIZED CYBERPUNK BEHAVIOR

The opening moments of the movie *War Games* offers a classic example of CYBERNETIC performance.

It's a foggy night. An Air Force Captain is skillfully steering a jeep up a winding Colorado mountain road to the secret SAC nuclear missile launching silos. He is accompanied by a Lieutenant. The Captain speaks the first words in the movie. He tells the Lieutenant that he and his wife planted a cultivated grade of marijuana seeds in their garden and, to ensure their growth, invoked the Tibetan Buddhist prayer for enlightenment. ON MANE PADMA HUM.

At this point, the officers reach the entry check-point, identify themselves, and are issued pistols. The huge steel vault door opens. The two men enter the "control" room from which the bombs are fired. As they check dials, the Captain continues his story. The cannabis harvest was very successful. The Lieutenant interrupts the story. A red light on the control board is flashing ominously. The Captain tells him to tap it with his finger. The light disappears. Get it? The Captain is a quantum-whiz, alert, competent to detect and debug errors in the electronic system. The blinking begins again. An alarm sounds. They consult the code book and confirm the validity of the message. They gulp. They are commanded to launch nuclear missiles at the Soviet Union.

The Captain balks. He orders the Lieutenant to phone headquarters for human confirmation. The Lieutenant, a loyal liege vassal, protests that this is an unauthorized action. But he obeys the order of his immediate superior.

No answer.

The Lieutenant primly reminds the Captain that orders command him to fire the nuke. The Captain shakes his head. He commits an act of independent thought. He says he won't kill fifty million people without a human command.

The Lieutenant, dutifully following the government regulations, points his pistol at the Captain's brain.
Cut.

THE ROMAN CONCEPT OF GOVERNOR, DIRECTOR, STEERSMAN

The Greek word "kubernetes" when translated to the Latin comes out as "gubernetes." This basic verb "gubernare" means to control the actions or behavior of, to direct, to exercise sovereign authority, to regulate, to keep under, to restrain, to steer. This Roman concept is obviously very different from the original notion of "pilot."

It may be relevant that the Latin term "to steer" comes from the word "stare" which means to stand, with derivative meanings "place or thing which is standing." The past-participle of the Latin word produces "status," "state," "institute," "statue," "static," "statistics," "prostitute," "restitute," "constitute."

EXAMPLE OF GOVERNING OR STEERSMAN BEHAVIOR

A helicopter lands at the SAC base. It is carrying two high status officials of the government. They carry institutional briefcases and standard, serious, worried looks. They are furious. It seems that 25% of the Captains in silos refused to launch without human confirmation. The government response to this independence of judgment by individuals is predictably institutional.

"Get the persons out of the loop."

They introduce WHOPPER, a totally obedient Artificial Intelligence system guaranteed to follow government orders and to be free of the subjective, (PUNK) human-unreliability factor.

CYBERPUNK/PILOTS REPLACE GOVERNETICS/CONTROLLERS

"Society everywhere is in conspiracy against the selfhood of every one of its members. The virtue in most request is conformity. Self-reliance is its aversion. It loves not realities and creators, but names and customs."
—*Ralph Waldo Emerson, in "Nature"*

"Who so would be a man must be a nonconformist."
—*Ralph Waldo Emerson, in "Nature"*

The word "cybernetics" was coined (1948) by Norbert Weiner, who wrote, "We have decided to call the entire field of control and communication theory, whether in the machine or in the animal, by the name of Cybernetics, which we form

from the Greek word for steersman. (sic)" The word "cyber" has been redefined (in the *American Heritage Dictionary*) as "the theoretical study of control processes in electronic, mechanical, and biological systems, especially the flow of information in such systems." The derivative word CYBERNATE means "to control automatically by computer or to be so controlled."

An even more ominous interpretation defines cybernetics as "the study of human control mechanisms and their replacement by mechanical or electronic systems."

Note how Weiner and the Romanesque engineers have corrupted the meaning of cyber. The Greek word "pilot" becomes "governor or director"; the word "to steer" becomes "to control."

We are liberating the term, teasing it free from serfdom to represent the autopoetic, self-directed principle of organization which arises in the universe in many systems of widely varying sizes. In people, societies, and atoms. (As explained in the Cybernetic Organization chapter.)

CHARLES AUGUSTUS LINDBERGH—CYBER-POLITICIAN

Charles Lindbergh was a Republican congressman from Minnesota who first attained national prominence when he attacked industrial and commercial trusts, denounced pro-military propaganda and war profits. His courageous and skillful maverick attitude culminated in his active opposition to World War I in 1917. These acts of independent thinking destroyed his governmental career.

He was the father of Charles Augustus Lindbergh, Lucky Lindy, the Lone Eagle, who attained fame as sky pilot, philosopher, ecologist.

OUR OPPRESSIVE BIRTHRIGHT: THE POLITICS OF LITERACY

The etymological distinctions between Greek and Roman terms are quite relevant to the pragmatics of the culture surrounding their usage. French philosophy, for example, has recently stressed the importance of language and semiotics in determining human behavior and social structures. Michel Foucault's classic studies of linguistic politics and mind-control lead him to believe that:

    . . . human consciousness—as expressed in speech and

images, in self-definition and mutual designation . . . is
the authentic locale of the determinant politics of being.
    . . . What men and women are born into is only super-
ficially this or that social, legislative, and executive sys-
tem. Their ambiguous, oppressive birthright is the lan-
guage, the conceptual categories, the conventions of
identification and perception which have evolved and,
very largely, atrophied up to the time of their personal
and social existence. It is the established but customarily
subconscious, unargued constraints of awareness that
enslave.

Orwell and Wittgenstein both agree. To remove the means
of expressing dissent is to remove the possibility of dissent.
"Whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must remain silent."
In this light, the difference between the Greek word "pilot"
and the Roman translation "governor" becomes a most sig-
nificant semantic manipulation. And the flexibility granted to
symbol systems of all kinds by their representation in digital
computers becomes very dramatic.
    Several questions arise. Do we, for example, pride ourselves
for becoming ingenious "pilots" or "dutiful controllers"?

WHO, WHAT AND WHY IS GOVERNETICS?

"Damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead."
—*Captain David Glasgow Farragut's order to his steersman at the Battle of
Mobile Bay, 5 August 1864.*

"Aye, aye, sir!"
—*Unknown enlisted steersman at the Battle of Mobile Bay, 5 August 1864.*

The word governetics refers to an attitude of obedience-con-
trol in relationship to self or others.
    Pilots, those who navigate on the seven seas or in the sky,
have to devise and execute course-changes continually in
response to the changing environment. They respond con-
tinually to feedback, information about the environment.
Dynamic. Alert. Alive.
    The Latinate "steersman," by contrast, is in the situation of
following orders. The Romans, we recall, were great or-
ganizers, road-builders, administrators. The galley-ships, the
chariots must be controlled. The legions of soldiers must be
directed.
    The Hellenic concept of the individual navigating his/her

own course was an island of humanism in a sea of totalitarian empires. Athens was bounded on the East (the past) by the centralized, authoritarian kingdoms of the middle-east. The Governors of Iran, from Cyprus, the Persian emperor, to the recent Shah-and-Ayatollah, have exemplified the highest traditions of state-control.

The Greeks were bounded on the other side, which we shall designate the West (or future) by a certain heavy concept called Rome. The Caesars and Popes of the Holy Roman Empire represented the next grand phase of institutional control. The governing hand on the wheel stands for stability, durability, continuity, permanence. Staying the course. Individual creativity, exploration, and change are usually not encouraged.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS:
ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF CYBERPUNK BEHAVIOR

Christopher Columbus (1451-1506) was born in Genoa. At the age of twenty-five, he showed up in Lisbon and learned the craft of map-making. This was the Golden Era of Portuguese exploration. Many pilots and navigators were convinced that the earth was round and that the Indies and other, unknown lands could be found by crossing the western seas. What was special about Columbus was his persistence and eloquence in support of the dream of discovery. For over ten years, he travelled the courts of Europe attempting to make "the deal" to find backing for his "enterprise of the Indies."

According to the *Columbia Encyclopedia*: "Historians have disputed for centuries his skill as a navigator, but it has been recently proved that with only dead-reckoning Columbus was unsurpassed in charting and finding his way about unknown seas." Columbus was a most unsuccessful governor of the colonies he had discovered. He died in disgrace, his cyber-skills almost forgotten. (At least that's what they tell us in the authorized history books.)

CYBERPUNK: THE PILOTS OF THE SPECIES

"The winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators."
—Edward Gibbon

The word CYBERNETIC-PERSON or CYBERNAUT returns us to the original meaning of "pilot" and puts the self-reliant person back in the loop. The words CYBERNETIC-

PERSON, CYBERNAUT and the more pop term CYBER-
PUNK refers to the personalization (and thus the populariza-
tion) of knowledge-information technology. Innovative think-
ing on the part of the individual.

According to Foucault, if you change the language you
change the society. Following Foucault, we suggest that the
term CYBERNETIC-PERSON, CYBERNAUT, may describe
a new model of human being and a new social order. CYBER-
PUNK is, admittedly, a risky term. Like all linguistic innova-
tions, it must be used with a tolerant sense of high-tech
humor. It's a stop-gap, transitional meaning-grenade thrown
over the language barricades to describe the resourceful, skill-
ful individual who accesses and steers knowledge-communica-
tion technology towards his/her own private goals. For per-
sonal pleasure, profit, principal, or growth.

The CYBERPUNKS are the inventors, innovative writers,
techno-frontier artists, risk-taking film directors, icon-shifting
composers, expressionist artists, free-agent scientists, innovative
show-biz entrepreneurs, techno-creatives, computer visionaries,
elegant hackers, bit-blitting Prolog adepts, special-effectives,
video wizards, neurological test pilots, media-explorers—all of
those who boldly package and steer ideas out there where no
thoughts have gone before.

CYBERPUNKS are sometimes authorized by the governors.
They can, with sweet cynicism and patient humor, interface
their singularity with institutions. They often work within "the
governing systems" on a temporary basis.

As often as not, they are unauthorized.

THE LEGEND OF THE RONIN

The following quotes come from *The Way of the Ronin* by
Beverly Potter, Ph.D. " . . . the Ronin . . . has broken with
the tradition of career feudalism. Guided by a personally
defined code of adaptability, autonomy, and excellence, Ronin
are employing career strategies grounded in a premise of rapid
change."

Ronin is used as a metaphor based on a Japanese word for a
lordless samurai. As early as the eighth century, the word
RONIN, translated literally as "wave people," was used in
Japan to describe people who had left their allotted, slotted,
caste-predetermined station in life. Samurai who had left the
service of their feudal lords to become masterless.

"RONIN played a key role in Japan's abrupt translation from a feudal society to industrialism. Under feudal rule, warriors were not allowed to think freely or act according to their own will. On the other hand, having been forced by circumstances to develop independence, they took more readily to new ideas and technologies and became increasingly influential in the independent schools. These schools . . . were more liberal than were the official government schools, which taught only the traditional curriculum."

The West has many historical parallels to the RONIN archetype. The term FREE LANCE has its origin in the period after the crusade when a large number of knights were separated from their lords. Many lived by the code of chivalry and became "lances for hire."

The American frontier was fertile ground for the RONIN archetype. MAVERICK, derived from the Texan word for unbranded steer, is used to describe a free and self-directed individual.

"Although many of the Ronin's roots . . . are in the male culture, most career women are well acquainted with the Way of the Ronin. Career women have left their traditional stations and battled their way into the recesses of the male-dominated workplace. Most women's careers are characterized by a multiplicity of experiences and back-and-forth moves between home, work, and school, causing them to confront the critics of self-direction. Like the Ronin who had no clan, professional women often feel excluded from the corporate cliques inside tracks, without ally or mentor."

SHALL WE BOOT-UP SOME EXAMPLES OF CYBERPUNK?

Carol Suen Rosin, proponent of non-militarized outer space, has become "an honest broker" between the American and Soviet scientific groups.

Stanley Kubrick is the essence of CYBERPUNK

Mary Ferguson, psyber-punk. Wrote THE AQUARIAN CONSPIRACY and publishes the BRAIN/MIND BULLETIN.

Steve Jobs and Steve Wozniak

David Hockney

Andy Warhol

George Koopman

William Gibson, Bruce Sterling, John Shirley, Rudy Rucker.

Charles Lindbergh: "We (that's my ship and I) took off rather suddenly. We had a report somewhere around 4 o'clock in the afternoon before that the weather would be fine, so we thought we would try it."

"I saw a fleet of fishing boats . . . I flew down almost touching the craft and yelled at them, asking if I was on the right road to Ireland. They just stared. Maybe they didn't hear me. Maybe I didn't hear them. Or maybe they thought I was a crazy fool. An hour later I saw land."

In 1922, Lindbergh left a promising university career to study air navigation and flight. He was one of the first pilots to carry mail through the skies. On May 21, 1927 he made the first solo non-stop flight from the North American continent to the Eurasian continent. "Lucky Lindy" immediately became a national hero.

In 1929, he married Anne Morrow, an intelligent, cultured author and woman of means. After the marriage, she became an accomplished pilot. The couple astonished the world by making several highly publicized flights together.

In 1936, Lindy (by then in exile) collaborated with Alex Carrel in developing an enhanced heart-appliance to aid human circulation.

In 1938, after visiting the Eurasian continent, Lindbergh became convinced that America should stay out of the power-struggle developing between the Axis and the Allies (2).

The media widely publicized a motto-logo for Lindy: "Smiling Through."

Ann Morrow Lindbergh.

Mark Twain. He purchased the Remington-Type writer when it appeared in 1874 for $125.00. In 1875, he became the first author in history to submit a typewritten manuscript to a publisher. It was *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*.

"This new fangled writing machine has several virtues. It piles an awful stack of words on one page. It don't muss things or scatter ink blots around. Of course it saves paper."

Gertrude Stein.

Roy Walford.

Wilt Chamberlain.

Mathias (Rusty) Rust, age 19, a lanky, teen-age loner from Hamburg, Germany attained All-Star status as a Cyberpunk when, on May 28, 1987 he flew a one-engine Cessna through the impenetrable Soviet air defenses and landed in Moscow's

Red Square. There were no gubernal or organizational mo-
tives. The technological adventure was a personal mission.
Rusty just wanted to talk to some Russians. German
newspapers celebrated the event calling it "the stuff of dreams"
comparing the youth to the Red Baron Manfred von Rich-
thofen and Charles Lindbergh.

Steward Brand, founder of *Co-evolution Quarterly*.

Bob Harris, the owner of a hardware store in Riverside,
California, is an amateur glider pilot. On 17 February 1986,
while soaring over the high desert north of Edwards AF Base,
he caught the most beautiful "mountain wave" he'd ever seen
and rode it to a height of 49,000 feet. A world record. His
celebration was rudely interrupted by the Federal Aviation Ad-
ministration, who moved to revoke his pilot's license. The
charge: Pilot Harris had failed to get permission. The flight
was unauthorized.

THE CYBER-FLASH KID:
ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF INNOVATIVE BEHAVIOR

The third scene in WAR GAMES introduces us to the hero,
Matthew Broderick. He is in a video arcade playing a space ad-
venture game with poise and proficiency.

Get it? He's an Electron Jock. A Quantum Wizard. But is he
a company-man? Or a self-directed Cyber-pilot? Let's find out.

He is late for school. His autocratic biology teacher gives
him a bad time. When the officious teacher asks about the
origin of asexual reproduction, Matthew suggests, "Your wife?"

Okay, we get it. Matthew is ungovernable. He's a cyber-kid.

The teacher sends Matthew to the principal. While languish-
ing in the governor's office, he obtains the code for the
school's computer system. Back home, he uses his PC to access
the school records. He changes the unfair grade to a passing
level.

THE CYBERPUNK CODE: T.F.Y.Q.A.

The three scenes from WAR GAMES present the cultural
drama of the Roaring 20th century. First we note that WAR
GAMES is an electronic quantum signal, a movie about high-
tech computers and human evolution seen by millions, especial-
ly impressionable youngsters. The film illustrates and con-
demns the use of quantum/electronic knowledge technology
by governates for control. The film celebrates the inde-

pendence and skill of Cyberpunks who think for themselves and innovate from within the static system. The Captain and his wife use high-tech agriculture methods to enhance the potency of unauthorized botanical neuro-activators. The Captain makes an unauthorized decision to abort WWIII. In both instances, the Captain follows the cyberpunk code: Think for Yourself, Question Authority (TFYQA). He pilots an independent course.

The cyber-kid, Matthew Broderick, is equally courageous, outrageous, creative and bright. He is pulled into the classic confrontation: the Authoritarian Antique Teacher humiliates and punishes the Tom Sawyer kid. Matthew Thinks for Himself and Questions Authority. He rushes to the library and researches the life of Professor Falken, scans scientific journals, scopes microfilm files—not to please the system but in pursuit of his own personal quest. Then he uses his Electron-skills in an unauthorized manner to pilot his own course.

Note that there is a new dimension of Electronic Ethics and Quantum Legality here. The Captain and Matthew perform no act of physical violence, no theft of material goods. The Captain processes some computer data and decides for himself. Matthew rearranges clusters of electrons stored on a chip.

They seek no control over others.

CYBERPUNK AS ROLE MODEL FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

The tradition of the "Individual who Thinks for Him/Herself" extends to the beginnings of recorded human history. Indeed, the very label of our species, HOMO SAPIENS, defines us as the animals who think.

If our genetic function is COMPUTARE (to think), then it follows that the ages and stages of human history, so far, have been larval or preparatory. Now, at the beginnings of the information age, are we ready to assume our genetic function? After the larval phases of submission to gene-pools, the mature stage of the human life-cycle is the individual who thinks for him/herself.

DEFINITIONS OF THE WORD "CYBER"

The preceding pages have discussed the politics of knowledge in terms of the concept "Cyber."

CYBER means "pilot."

A CYBER-PERSON is one who pilots his/her own life. By definition, the CYBER-PERSON is fascinated by navigational

information—especially maps, charts, labels, guides, manuals, which help pilot one through life.

The CYBER-PERSON continually searches for theories, models, paradigms, metaphors, images, icons which help chart and define the realities which we inhabit.

CYBER-TECH refers to the tools, appliances, and methodologies of knowing and communicating. Linguistics. Philosophy. Semantics. Semiotics. Practical epistemologies. The ontologies of daily life. Words, icons, pencils, printing-presses, screens, key-boards, computers, disks.

CYBER-POLITICS introduces the Foucault notions of the use of language and linguistic-tech by the ruling classes in Feudal and Industrial societies to control children, the uneducated and powerless individuals.

The words GOVERNOR or STEERSMAN or G-MAN are used to describe those who manipulate words and communication-devices to control, to bolster authority—feudal, management, government. And to discourage innovative thought and free exchange.

We describe a person who relies on static, verbal abstractions, conformity to dogma, reliance on authority, as a vassal or G-Person or G-Man. From which we get G-think, G-text, G-babble, G-berish, vassaline, vassalize.

NOTES

1. *Every gene pool develops its own name for Prometheus, the fearful genetic-agent, Lucifer, who defies familial authority by introducing a new technology which empowers some members of the gene-pool to leave the familiar cocoon. Each gene-pool has a name for this ancestral state-of-security: "Garden of Eden," "Atlantis," "Heaven," "Home," etc.*

2. *The Axis included Germany, Italy, Spain, Austria, Japan, Czechoslovakia, Russia, and many Eastern-European, S. American, Middle Eastern (Islamic) nations and (later) Vichy France. The Allies included France, England, the British Commonwealth (Canada, Australia, and South Africa). Among the countries that remained neutral during WWII were Switzerland, Ireland, Denmark and Sweden.*